1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

in Lower Post, and on December 26th we boarded the bus for the railhead at Dawson Creek. Analysis of the material was begun toward the end of my stay in the field and completed in New Haven. A description of Kaska culture and ethos, containing a large part of the material in the present monograph, was submitted in 1946 to the Graduate School of Yale University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The preparation of this final report was generously aided by a University Fellowship.

Acknowledgment is made to the Department of Anthropology and to the Peabody Museum of Yale University for funds enabling me to carry out two seasons of field work among the Kaska Indians. To the faculty of the Department of Anthropology I am indebted for unceasing stimulation, criticism, and encouragement. I must particularly mention the intellectual inspiration received from Professor Cornelius Osgood during my graduate years at Yale, and the help provided by Professor Clellan S. Ford in formulating a description of the analytical method which I followed in this study of Kaska culture and ethos. Professors George P. Murdock, Wendell C. Bennett, and Irving Rouse also read portions of the manuscript and made important suggestions. To my colleagues, the students in the department, I wish to express appreciation for their patience and interest in listening to the many expositions of the successive stages of this research project. I am also deeply obliged to my wife who, despite natural misgivings, ventured to try the northern winter and, by her presence and cooperation, greatly facilitated my work. Her interest, aid, and penetrating criticism were particularly valuable during the analysis and description of the data. David and Karen also contributed, their company in the field serving to throw light on many aspects of native child and adult behavior. A number of people, by their friendship and hospitality, promoted our comfort in the North. Among these I must refer to the resident Catholic missionaries, members of the Oblates of the Immaculate Conception, Father Pierre A. Poullet, who generously placed his home at our disposal when we returned to Watson Lake Airport in December, and Father Bernard Arsenault. I can also not forget to mention Hans Anderson, Clarence Millspaugh, and Bill Strong, traders; and the trappers, Leo Cormier, Fred Herbert, Knute Hillgren, Nick Prosnick, Llewellyn Phillips, Ben Malanson, and others, who, by their many kindnesses, facilitated and enlivened our stay in Lower Post.

Finally there are my friends among the Upper Liard Indians. Without their generosity in providing us with shelter, guidance, meat, fish, and, when our food stores ran low, lending us "grub," I would not have been able to finish this work adequately. Since I was taken completely into the confidence of some of these people, and because the data contain highly personal and intimate material, it is necessary to preserve the anonymity of the members of this group. Therefore fictitious names have been employed for all my informants.

New Haven, 1946. JOHN J. HONIGMANN

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121 disappear or change, but rather persists.[42] That is, the personality configuration created in this fashion tends to maintain itself and to resist casual efforts of reeducation.

All early experiences are closely related to the relationship of the child to his parents, parental surrogates, or parental extensions.[43] We will refer to the child's earliest meaningful interpersonal relationship with parents or parental surrogates as the *oedipal situation*. Often we find societies in which the father is singled out as the disciplinarian. Toward him the child, especially the boy, must be compliant and reserved. As a result of these socially patterned expectations, considerable fear is manifested toward that parent, and this attitude is often accompanied by a disproportionate affect invested in the mother. This is the classical oedipal pattern of western society.[44] From such a complex are derived conscious and unconscious expectations that will later be extended to many other social relationships and will also be expressed in the relationship of the individual to the supernatural. These expectations tend to persist through life. Where security in childhood lies in placating a strong and harsh parent in order to keep in his good graces, security in later life may tend to be sought in submission and passivity in human relations. Aggression or assertiveness becomes revolt in this pattern. The world view in such instances may, for example, regard men in dominant positions as threatening and potentially dangerous, while the self-view will motivate reserve, hesitancy, and timidity.

METHOD

122 The method followed in investigating Kaska culture and ethos may be considered under three aspects: first, the author's preparation for field work; second, the techniques adopted for the collection of data, and, finally, the procedure followed in the analysis of the data.

Preparation. At the time when work was undertaken in 1945 the author had already spent three months in the field working with Kaska Indians. He was, therefore, familiar with the people whom he now proposed to study more intimately. A didactic psychoanalysis lasting several months had succeeded in clarifying much of psychoanalytic theory and practice. Training as well as wide reading in the fields of psychology and psychiatry gave further background for handling personal data. Several months spent as a research assistant, obtaining and analyzing life histories of alcoholics in urban American society, furnished important practical experience in interviewing and making judgments of adjustment in a semi-psychiatric situation.

123 *Field techniques.* The ethnographer presented himself as a friend of the Indians. He was always sympathetic to any complaints addressed to him, whether these were directed

[42] Maslow, *Dynamics of Personality Organization* (1943), 332–334; Nadel, *Review of Nuer* (1938); Nadel, *The Typological Approach to Culture* (1956–1957), 278–279.

[43] The term parent extensions is used to designate relatives, such as the mother's brother, the mother's sister, grandparents, one's father-in-law, or some equivalent, [illegible] relationship would also exist between the affect the diffusion of some of the affect which, in western culture, is typically bound up in the parent-child relationship. See Mead, *The Family and the Future* (1940); Malinowski, *Sex and Repression in Savage Society* (1927).

[44] It also appears to be the pattern in Chinese society. See Doi, *Detailed Loyalty in War* (1944); Yang, *A Chinese Village* (1945), 128–130.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

strongly patterned forms of interpersonal cooperation, which are, however, also not demanded by the nature of most of the adaptive behaviors. The family is the primary economic unit in Kaska society and receives little assistance from beyond its circle. Even within the family, cooperative undertakings often rest on a voluntary basis. The *protégé* relationship is an unformalized cooperative unit which depends on the implicit assumption that it must be immediately (not eventually) profitable to both parties. At any time a partner may withdraw from such a unit and there is no sanction that can effectively force his subjugation. A similar note occurs in the father-in-law relationship. When a youth feels he can make his living independently, he may discontinue matrilocal residence as readily as he abrogated his *protégé* status. Economic sanctions cannot effectively be employed to control behavior at any of these points. For one thing, the execution of ego's adaptive activities does not require him to be submissive in order to secure economic cooperation. Furthermore, the moderately ambitious youth always has the possibility of securing economic aid through credit extended by white traders. Although this assistance may at first be small, it is usually sufficient to assist in setting up an independent producer.[42]

In a wide range of interpersonal behaviors, including sexual relations, visiting, and the relations of parents and children, we see the operation of isolating patterns which, by failing to bring individuals into close and intense interaction, give Kaska social culture its atomistic quality. Only in the excitement of drinking parties, gambling, and, to a lesser extent, in sexual relations and dancing, are these attitudinal screens relaxed in order to permit relatively intense, uninhibited interaction.

So far we have discussed the atomistic basis of Kaska social culture, mentioning in passing the integration of this style of living with the adaptive routines which do not require extensive cooperation. We turn now to an examination of the stress points in the social culture and the manner in which the conflicts arising around these points are solved. It is here that we shall apply the criteria of deference and consistency.

Most of the stress in Kaska interpersonal relations arises in the sphere of property and generates latent antagonisms that become expressed in drunken aggression and gossip. We have pointed out that although a person is not able to manifest complete control over the use and alienation of goods, ideally such exclusive ownership seems desirable. These data must now be considered in the broader orbit of social structure, in which the individual is defined as owing few obligations outside of the nuclear family, and which provides few sanctions compelling people to share grub, trap lines, and tools. Apart from the father-in-law relationship, sharing is not, for example, included in the ideas of kinship behavior extending to relatives beyond the nuclear family. However, and perhaps partly as a result of the perilous balance between life and death in the Kaska winter environment, people expect help in emergencies without, however, being able to demand it by reference to explicit standards. As a result of the interplay of these conditions, the demands for sharing are not consistent with the ideal notions of complete control.

How are the conflicts arising from such divergent values solved? In the first place, the

[42] Social atomism need not always be associated with equality of opportunity. Among the individualistic Ojibwa, for example, the young man's independent start in life is hampered by the selfishness of adults who withhold from him necessary means of production.

3:Honigman and Honigman E-5 (1944-1945)1947
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A Kaska Oracle

159 SIR,—The following information may be of interest to your readers: it was obtained in the course of field work with the Kaska undertaken in 1944 and 1945 under grants provided to the senior of us by the Department of Anthropology, Yale University and the Yale Peabody Museum. Contact with the four tribes constituting the Kaska nation was made at Lower Post, B.C., on the Alaska Highway.

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Like many other people the Kaska Indians, an Athapaskan-speaking group living in northern British Columbia and southern Yukon Territory, Canada, know a number of

[p. 139]

5: Teit E-5 (1912, 1915) 1956 ND12 Nahane ND12

FIELD NOTES ON THE TAHLTAN AND KASKA INDIANS: 1912-15

by

J. A. Teit

PREFACE

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[122] The following information on the Tahltan was obtained by me in the fall of 1912 and during the summer of 1915 when I investigated the general ethnology of the tribe and collected information on their traditions, language, songs, etc., for the Anthropological Division of the Geological Survey of Canada. Incidentally I had gathered a little information whilst hunting big game in their country during a period of several years prior to 1912. Most of this information has been published in the Boas Anniversary volume. A brief report of my work among the Tahltan in 1912 was published in the Summary Report of the Geological Survey of Canada for 1912.

115 The information on the Kaska was obtained during the summer of 1915, when I also collected traditions, songs, etc., from this tribe, and additional information on the Tahltan and other neighboring tribes. Most of the information from the Kaska I obtained at the foot of Dease Lake, my chief informants being Albert Dease and his wife. The Tahltan information was collected for the most part at Telegraph Creek from Dandy Jim, who was specially selected by the tribe to give me the desired information, partly because of his superior knowledge of English and partly because he was considered to be of superior intelligence and one of the best posted persons in the tribe. However, I obtained some information from several other individuals of both sexes of the Tahltan and neighboring tribes, particularly from Big Jackson, Slim Jim, Dennis Hyland, Bear Lake Billy, Ned Teit, etc. I also received information on certain points from George Adsit, who has lived a number of years among the Tahltan and can speak their language. (He has also a knowledge of Cree and at least some knowledge of the Athapaskan dialects spoken by the tribes lying between the Cree and Tahltan, having lived among the Indians in this little-known region for several years.)

7: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1947
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WITCH-FEAR IN POST-CONTACT KASKA SOCIETY

By JOHN J. HONIGMANN

ABORIGINALLY the Kaska, like their Northern Athapaskan neighbors, were familiar with sorcery—behavior in which a person with sufficiently strong shamanistic power would steal, or was believed to steal, the wind or soul of a personal enemy and thereby induce illness. Although people who practiced such behavior were feared by the rest of the society's members, they were not usually put to death or otherwise punished. Sorcery, however, was regarded as evil and might therefore automatically lead to punishment in the form of insanity. There is no evidence that sorcery in aboriginal times ever was as prevalent as similar behavior in certain African and Melanesian groups. Following white contact, however, a socially dyscrasic form of behavior appeared among the Kaska which, to distinguish it from the sorcery complex associated with the aboriginal society, may be designated as witch-hunting or witch-fear. The present paper will first present the available evidence from historical sources and informants regarding this form of behavior. Following this an attempt will be made to analyze that material from an historical, psychological, and structural point of view and apply the findings in a universal frame of reference.[1]

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

The Kaska still occupy the territory which they have always inhabited in the memory of the oldest informants. This is the area extending northwest of the Stikine River, British Columbia, Canada, to the divide north of Frances Lake, Yukon Territory, and from the western Cordillera east across the Rocky Mountains (Fig. 1). The main rivers traversing this region are the Liard, Frances, and Dease. The name Kaska is a conventional term adopted from one group of people to classify a number of contiguous tribes speaking closely related dialects. Within the area designated as Kaska several such tribes have been variously distinguished in the literature, but for present purposes the names by which they are locally known today will suffice. In the extreme north are the Frances Lake Indians. Occupying the basin of the Liard, from about the present Highway crossing twenty-three miles above Lower Post to within a hundred miles of that river's source, are the Upper Liard Indians. The

[1] Field work with the Kaska Indians took place from June to September 1944 and from June to December 1945. The work was sponsored by the Department of Anthropology and the Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University. To Professors Cornelius Osgood and Irving Rouse are due thanks for critically reading this manuscript. The present account will offer a minimum of general ethnographic detail. A description of the aboriginal culture based on reconstruction is planned for future publication and a psychologically oriented study of the contemporary culture is already partially in manuscript.